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Present Exigences

OF THE 1490. i. 10.

GOVERNMENT

CONSIDER'D.

Res Angusta Domi.

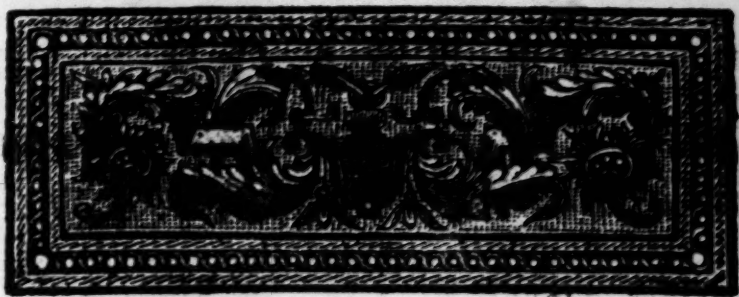


L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane.*
M D C C X I X. Price 1 s.

Exigencies
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PREFACE.



THE present Exigences of the Government, is a Subject so copious, that it would afford Matter for large Volumes. 'Tis as impossible to say all that may be said on this Occasion in one Pamphlet, as 'tis for one Pen to express all that might be proper,

'TIS hop'd this is Apology enough to such Gentlemen, as may, perhaps, find something wanting that ought to have been said. The best way to supply that Defect, is for others to communicate their Thoughts as I have done mine.

IN the first Sheets of this Discourse, I have enlarg'd on the Domestick State of the Nation :

P R E F A C E.

Nation : The other Part relates to the present Conjunction of Foreign Affairs.

WHAT I have here written, is with a Design of doing Service to my Country ; and I hope it will be taken as kindly as I meant it honestly. 'Tis the Concern of every Britain, to engage his Representative to a more than ordinary Care in this Parliament. They are sent thither to attend the Affairs of the Nation ; which never stood in more need of wise and speedy Resolves than at present. May Heaven direct and invigorate their Councils, that maturely weighing the Difficulties we labour under, both from Within and Without, they may proportion their Advices and Assurances, according to the Urgency of Affairs.





THE
Present Exigences
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THE Fate of Empire is grown a Common-Place : That all Forms of Government having been instituted by Men, must be Mortal, like their Authors, and have their Periods of Duration limited, as well as those of private Persons, is a Truth of vulgar Knowledge and Observation : But there are few who turn their Thoughts to examine how those Diseases in a State are bred, that hasten its End ; which would however be a very useful Enquiry. For though we cannot prolong the
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Period of a Commonwealth beyond the Decree of Heaven or the Date of its Nature, any more than humane Life beyond the Strength of the Seminal Virtue ; yet we may manage a sickly Constitution, and preserve a strong one ; we may watch and prevent Accidents ; we may turn off a Blow from without, and purge away an ill Humour that is lurking within : And by these, and other such Methods, render a State long-liv'd, though not immortal. Yet some Physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several Humours of the Body in an exact, equal Ballance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal ; and so perhaps would a Political Body, if the Balance of Power could be always exactly held even. But I doubt this is as impossible in the Practice as the other.

It has an Appearance of Fatality, and that the Period of a State approaches, when a Concurrence of many Circumstances, both within and without, unite towards its Ruin ; while the whole Body of the People are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in, with all their Might, to those very Practices that are working their Destruction. To observe opposite Parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such Measures as must certainly ruin their Country ; to be encompassed with the greatest Dangers from without, to be torn
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by many virulent Factions within ; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our Concern : These, and some others that might be nam'd, appear to me to be the most likely Symptoms in a State, of a *Sickness unto Death*.

TRUTH is generally unprevailing in that Variety of Factions, into which we are at present so intricately engag'd ; yet I could appeal to the sober Judgment of every considering Individual amongst them, Whether an extraordinary Concurrence of Providence does not manifestly appear in the Support of a Government, whose Case has so often approach'd the above Description, and been known by it ? To me it seems almost impossible to conceive, how, in such a fluctuating State, these thirty Years, Ours could have subsisted without a Miracle.

BUT is it not amazing, that a People so zealous for the Liberties and Religion, should neglect the natural, safe and certain Ways of securing both, when they have often had recourse to the most violent Remedies, and run the utmost Hazards to preserve them ? This is the only Country in *Europe* that enjoys any Freedom under a King ; and it mortifies any thinking Man, when he considers in how many successive Reigns our Constitution has been

aim'd at, and how often the Opportunities of a secure Establishment have been trifled away, when obtain'd by the boldest Attempts, that were made successful by an apparent Providence.

It is but a few Years since this Nation was justly apprehensive of a Relapse under Popery and Arbitrary Power; from which by the Revolution we were before happily deliver'd; then all good Men beg'd of Almighty God to dispel their Fears, and in due time to send us a Protestant Successor; a King who should govern us according to our Laws, and not set his own Will above them; who should neither invade our Property, nor lay Snares for our Liberty; who should maintain the Religion established with a Tenderneſs to thoſe who cannot bring themselves to a Conformity to it; and, in ſhort, one in whose Reign we ſhould have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope for. God heard their Prayers, and made way for His preſent Maſteſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, by a ſudden and ſurprizing Turn of Providence; which was accompanied with the moſt unfeign'd Vows and Wiſhes of all true Lovers of their Country, who from thence expected an inexhausted Affluence of all manner of Bleſſings a Nation is capable of enjoying: For what Happineſs might not a People well hope for under the
Government

Government of the best of Kings, supported by the best of Titles ? And indeed it must be own'd, if this Nation were dispos'd to be happy, that now is the time, when it might be compleatly so, by the Assistance of a Prince, *Whose Reign from the Moment he ascended the Throne to this Day, has been one Series of Wisdom, Justice and Clemency ; His Labours constant, unwearied and successful, to retrieve the Honour and Reputation of these Nations, to re-establish the Trade, and recover the Wealth of His Kingdoms, and whose greatest Care has been to procure the universal Good of His People.*

BUT notwithstanding all this, and though some very late Occurences have given sufficient Indications of the Efficacy of His Majesty's Councils, and the Power of his Arms, whereby he is confess'd the Hopes of his Allies, and the Terror of his Enemies ; yet at Home our Affairs cannot afford any other than a melancholy Prospect, *whilst we make no other Use of those several Advantages which God has put into our Hands, but as if we expected that he would continue to repeat his Miracles.* Thus at Home the publick Scale hangs as it were in Suspence, without being determin'd by the Weight of Success and Settlement : which is the greatest Encouragement our Enemies can have to give us all possible Disturbances from Abroad. And perhaps there never was any Time, in which it
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was more necessary to join Heads and Hearts, for the Service of our native Country, that so a safe and effectual Method may be agreed upon, to bring this Nation through the great and many Difficulties it labours under.

IN this great Exigency of Affairs, the Eyes of the Nation are naturally fix'd on the *British* Parliament, which is our great State Physician; and, under God, the Remedy of all our Ills. Nay, the Fate of *Europe*, at this Time, as well as our own in particular, in a great Measure, depends on their Determinations.

THERE is not a Body of Men in the World, who have so noble a Trust repos'd in them, as that which is in the *House of Commons*, from the People of *Great Britain*. Our Neighbours the *Dutch*, tho' they send Deputies to their States, to manage their publick Affairs, yet limit them with Instructions and Orders, beyond which they cannot go: And if any new Matters of Debate arise in the Assembly of their States, the Deputies can do nothing, till first they go or send to their Towns for new Instructions. And the same I might say of Limitations of Trusts, and Powers in other Governments, where Deputies are appointed and authoriz'd to act in the Name of the People. But in *Great Britain* the Case is quite otherwise; the People of this Nation

Nation do entirely put themselves, and their whole Concerns, into the Hands of their Representatives in Parliament. They have no Distrust of them, and therefore put no manner of Shackles upon them; but taking it for granted they will employ their utmost Skill and Wisdom for their Good, they frankly entrust them with their Power, Purfes, and all other Things, wherein the Strength of the Nation consists; that being cloath'd with so great and unbounded an Authority, they may be the better enabled to direct the Money, Men, Arms, Shipping, and all other Advantages of the Nation, to the Defence, Safety, and Preservation of the Whole, the Care of which is their proper Province.

THE Greatness and Frankness of this Trust, from the People to their Representatives, is the highest Obligation imaginable, upon all Members of Parliament, to labour with the utmost Industry and Application for the Service of those by whom they are thus intrusted. In order to which, 'tis necessary they should be fully inform'd and agreed what our *Case* is, for otherwise 'tis in vain to imagine or propose Expedients for our Relief. If we can come but once to a right Understanding whereabouts we are, and what our Condition is, it will not then be difficult for us to know what we have to do: But if through
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want of Consideration, or through Misinformation, or for any other Reason whatever, we neglect the Discovery of our true Dangers and Difficulties; or if we palliate or cover those Wounds, which can never be cur'd unless they are first search'd to the Bottom, there is little Hope of our being sav'd, and (which is the most killing Thought of all) we must acknowledge ourselves to be the Authors of our own Ruin.

THESE Considerations have prevail'd with me to set down my impartial Sentiments on the present *Necessities of the Government*, since, in all Affairs of publick Concern, 'tis every Man's Duty to assist his Country by his Advice, as well as with his Hands in time of Danger; and since Matters may be as freely debated among us abroad, as within their own Walls by our Senators, who likewise in their printed Votes, inform us of all their Resolutions and Proceedings. I shall begin then with the Domestick State of the Nation: And thence proceed to consider what Condition we are in, with relation to the present Conjunction of Foreign Affairs.

At Home, there remain'd nothing for us to do, after Providence had so signally concurr'd in the speedy Suppression of the late Rebellion, but to close, in a happy Settlement, upon

on those Foundations of Peace and Liberty, that might have secur'd both us and our Posterity : But we have since been so far remov'd from those good Circumstances, that we have rather labour'd under the truest Symptoms of a distracted State. This Period of Time has been equally remarkable with That which preceded it ; nay, has produc'd much more extraordinary, and, perhaps, unparallel'd Events, which, if they were consider'd with the Attention that is necessary, would unfold a new Scene of Dangers and Difficulties, of a strange and surprizing Nature, and at the same time manifest his Majesty's great Wisdom, which has enabled him hitherto to surmount them. But this is not a seasonable Opportunity for such Reflections ; our Business now, is to consider the Circumstances we are in at present : And the first Thing that occurs to me, is, *That we are in pieces among ourselves.* Now this may, very likely, be to us a fatal Misfortune in the present difficult Conjuncture, unless the publick Spirit of the Nation shall be able to overcome it, and to exert itself with extraordinary Vigour. The common Danger from a *Rupture with Spain*, ought to unite us, and to excite in the whole Nation a Spirit of Union and Resolution, suitable to so great an Occasion. And tho' we were divided and sort'd into Parties, during *the late War*, 'tis the longer the worse ; nay, there is something odd and singular in

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the Matter at present, that makes an essential Difference, with respect to *War*. Then one sort of Men had the whole Business in their Hands, and the other was made to submit; *Now the prevailing Party is club'd into Factions, stated, as it were, to make War at Home; to which if we add a War Abroad, what a fine Work shall we make of it, unless we can, on the sudden, come at the Art of putting an end to these Factions? which, I'm afraid, is not a very possible Thing.*

NOTHING has so much contributed, of late, to retard our *Settlement* at Home, and to render us Abroad less considerable than we might be, as the scandalous Differences and Disunion among the *Leading Men* of this Party. Union and Integrity will do great Matters: But surely they cannot pretend to this, who have no Government, no Discipline in their Party, no Firmness to one another, or to any Point? They are always laughing, despising, or railing at one another; some of them are too wise, some of them too witty, and some of them too honest for the rest, jealous and envious of one another's Favour and Preferment, every Man thinking himself fittest to be at the Head of Affairs, and hating and reflecting upon those that are so, and despising to be govern'd or directed by them: Whilst their Enemies, on the contrary, have but one Heart,
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one Voice, one Purse, and one Interest; excuse and justify one another's Faults, countenance and encourage the meanest Fool or Knave of their Party; and in return, the Underlings are every Man in a perfect Obedience to his Superiors, to vote, rail, write, or talk, according to Direction, and not otherwise.

It is an Imposition on the common Reason of Mankind, for any Persons to pretend to a *publick Spirit*, who, at the same time, have pin'd their own Concerns to the Fortunes of *private Men*, and entirely devoted themselves to their Interests: Yet the new Distinction between *Whig* and *Whig*, is chiefly caus'd by this very Thing; which equally discovers the Weakness and *No-Principles* of those that are thus manag'd. Such Men are the greatest Nuisance to a Government, whether in or out of Place. When any one of their Party is promoted to some eminent Station in the Ministry, this powerful Man becomes the Head of the whole Body, which is always spirited up with one *private Interest*, equally dear to all the Members, join'd in one and the same Design of enhancing the Favours of their Master, and serving *Themselves* with his Interest, Power and Purse. And no Man can expect so effectual a Recommendation to any Honour or profitable Trust, as these Men can give him;

since you may be sure they will recommend none but those who are *qualify'd* for such a Favour. In short, nothing can be more contrary to their narrow chittish Genius, than the Character they would assume; nor can their Idol of a *cunning Statesman* be esteem'd a Patriot; who has only the Craft to render himself seemingly necessary to a Prince, by forming and managing a *Party*, which is no better an Art, than packing the Cards, or cogging the Dice.

MOST certainly, the World is chiefly govern'd by Party or Self-Interest; otherwise it would not be so difficult as it is, to find Persons who can prefer that of the Publick to their own private or particular Views, by a constant and unanimous Application to the Means which may contribute thereto. But they are frequently mistaken in their Measures, and, consequently, not often likely to obtain their Ends, who consult their own *separate Interests* distinctly from one another, consider'd as a Party to which they belong. Thus we see Men in eminent Trusts often fall to pieces among themselves, and bewray their own personal Weaknesses; which generally concludes in the Overthrow of some of them, if not sometimes of the whole Party. For, if one Side thinks itself injur'd by the other (and all Men are partial to themselves) they seldom stick at
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any Means, how unjustifiable soever, to effect a Repentment.

SUCH Instances of the Frailty of humane Nature may be given within these two Years past, as might make a Man ever ashamed of his own Species ; and which (were they not so open and notorious) ought, out of Pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in ? To see Persons, who were formerly noted for the most vigorous Assertors of their Country's Liberty ; who, from their Infancy, had imbib'd no other Notions than what conduc'd to the publick Safety, whose Principles were farther improv'd and confirm'd by the Advantages of a suitable Conversation, and the extraordinary Opportunities of exerting their Talents and Abilities in the Service of their Country, and the present Establishment ; and who were so far possess'd with the Maxims on which our Constitution is happily founded, that they have been often transported beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Excesses. To see these Men, I say, so infamously contradict those Principles, and fall in with Measures that are destructive to the Interest of this Government, and consequently to the Peace and Safety of their Country, and that without any formal Steps or Degrees, but all in an Instant, is so violent

violent and surprizing a Transition from one Extreme to another without passing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of *Euclid* or *Pyrrho*. All the stated Maxims, in relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago settled and established by Philosophers and observing Men, are now baffled and exploded : And we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of romantick Fables, or the now more credible Metamorphoses of Men into Beasts.

IN Nations where there happen to be a Court and Country Party, there are two sorts of Men very unfit to act in Affairs of State, either for the Prince or People ; and yet the Persons here meant, have, in former Times, been by both most look'd upon and trusted ; that is, the Court lik'd those most who were fallen under the Displeasure of the People, and the People had the best Opinion of those who had receiv'd the highest Affronts and Disobligations from the Court. But with us the Case is far otherwise at present. His Majesty never pursu'd any different Interest from that of his People ; therefore his Ministers could never be reduc'd to the *Dilemma* of disobliging their Country to obey their Master, or of incurring the Displeasure of their Prince to act as true Patriots ; and 'tis vain for any Person to hope to aggrandize himself in this Government, under

der such a Prince, either by affecting Popularity on one Hand, or practising to be a Favorite on the other.

GOD be prais'd, we have a King, so jealous of his own Honour and his People's Happiness, that he will not be impos'd upon in any Thing that may reflect on the one or the other; who has with wonderful Dexterity shifted the Administration, whenever he could perceive the publick Interest so far abandon'd, as to give place to the passionate and interested Designs of a particular Faction, form'd by some haughty popular Statesmen; and who has given his Subjects good reason to applaud the happy Choice he has made of able and honest Men to serve him, and to believe His Majesty to be a perfect good Judge of Men. And, indeed, if it were not for this Particular, 'tis to be fear'd our Affairs would be ruin'd, and the Nation undone. For, as without the consummate Address and Management of Persons now at the Helm, it would have been impossible to prevent the Confusion that threaten'd us last Year, or to govern the Fury of dissatisfy'd, disoblig'd and disaffected Numbers that attack'd the Publick on every Hand, by conspiring to enfeeble the Government, and clog the Wheels of the Administration: So there is no less Occasion at present for equal Circumspection and Abilities, to baffle the Opposition of designing

signing Men, and to accomplish the necessary Demands of the Publick ; to allay, as much as possible, our Heats and Animosities, and thereby to prepare Men to do something considerable for their Country. In fine, we can never wish to see the Government in better Hands than it is at present, 'or its Affairs transacted with greater Dispatch and Exactness.

I CANNOT therefore apprehend with what Confidence any can call themselves *Whigs*, who withdraw the Assistance they owe to the Government, because, perhaps, they or their Friends are not on good Terms with Those that are now at the Helm. Ours is a Government of Laws, not of Men, and provided those are rightly administred, what is it to the Publick by what Hands they are dispens'd ? True *Britons* ought not to divide under this or that Ministry, under this or that Faction or Party, but grow wise and honest, and unite against their common Enemies ; ought to make the publick Interest, and the Support of the Government, as by Law establish'd, their chief and only Aim.

'TIS obvious to the World, how much some People have encourag'd their own old and avow'd Enemies, for no other End than to thwart and overpower their former Friends and Fellows in all their Measures ; and rather than

than agree with Those in any serviceable Point of what Importance soever, have chose to join with those, who, like *Solomon's Harlot*, are for tearing the Government asunder, if they may not have the Possession of it. Ought such People therefore nevertheless to be reputed the best Patriots, only for opposing the Court; as if every thing that comes from that Corner were arbitrary and designing? This, methinks, is a very unsuitable Return for what we owe to a Prince, who has declin'd no Hardships to procure our Safety and Security: And it but ill becomes those who ever profess'd their Attachment to Him, to add to his Difficulties and Troubles, by their querulous Humours, and giving Him occasion to think that after all they suspect the Sincerity of his Intentions. 'Tis our Duty rather to endeavour to make the Crown sit easy, where we have deservedly plac'd it: For as His Majesty came amongst us on the Foot of Deliverance, his Subjects may have learnt, by good Experience, to rely on his Sincerity.

BUT the Truth is, in our low and corrupt State, *Patriots* must be hir'd to serve their Country; they grow resty without Pension or Place: And in such a Case, I must confess, Princes may have an Excuse for over-looking these Failings sometimes in the Persons they employ; [though by the way His Majesty is

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above such little Arts, and of the Opinion, *He can never be well serv'd by such Mercenary Spirits.*] I remember to have said once to some Persons of Distinction, upon occasion of a certain Bill design'd to be brought into Parliament last Year, that we should be very much deceiv'd in the Consequences of the Change that was made in the M——y some Months before : And upon some Discourse on the Necessity thereof, and the contrary, they seem'd to be of the same Opinion. It soon appear'd that our Conjectures were true. If you run a Man down, he will support himself at any Rate : Men are but Men ; and their Maxims better known by their Behaviour than their Professions. *Let Princes take Care of themselves ; let the People take Care of themselves ; and let us take Care of our selves,* is a mighty prevailing Principle.

THUS we might plainly foresee the Consequences of some People's Disgrace. 'Tis easy to blow the Coals of Discord ; 'tis not difficult to enflame a Nation ; and we have frequent Instances in Story of Men who had nothing but the Appearances of Worth, with false Virtue, false Parts, and false Eloquence, who yet became so popular, that they were able to disturb their Country's Peace. 'Tis chiefly owing to His Majesty's steady Conduct, and the Unanimity of his Great Council, that the Influence of such Incendiaries is not more universal

versal and pernicious ; for such Men in this Nation have seldom fail'd to strengthen a Faction, by the Accession of Numbers, who were always ready and constantly attending with more Diligence to destroy our Constitution, than others were to preserve it ; whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valu'd Interests, nor the Persuasion of their Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation, could ever prevail upon to join in an honest Point, or dissent from a Question that carry'd in it an Embarrassment to the publick Good ; who always kept together in a close and undivided Phalanx, impenetrable, either by Shame or Honour, voting always the same Way, and saying always the same Things, as if they had been no longer voluntary Agents, but so many Engines, merely turn'd about by a mechanic Motion, like an Organ, where the great humming Bases, as well as the little squeeking Trebles, are fill'd but with one Blast of Wind from the same Sound-board.

ANOTHER principal Ingredient of our Misfortunes, is what the Apostle truly stiles *the Root of all Evil*. Princes may be active, and Providence ready to second their Endeavours, yet notwithstanding their Fortune and Conduct, not be able to make those Advances in their People's Happiness, which they propose, so long as they are oppress'd with the dead weight

of National Vices in their State ; especially such as have immediate influence on the Publick. It is impossible for them to see beyond the first Ranks of their People ; and 'tis happy if they can there distinguish exactly, and sufficiently know their Men : And the Body Politick, as well as Private, is capable of being mortally wounded in the Heel. *Avarice* is a Vice as inconsistent with the Health of a Nation, where it is predominant, as with the Safety of a private Person's Soul, where it has once got the Ascendant. Honour, Honesty, Friendship, Gratitude, and whatever else should be sacred amongst Mankind, must be sacrific'd to this devouring Mammon. 'Tis evident from History, that when this Corruption has prevail'd in any Nation, Employments and Places of Trust have thereby been made mercenary. And what better Advantages could the Enemies of such a Government have wish'd, than to see the publick Safety so expos'd ? For there has seldom been any Government so well establish'd, where wicked Instruments have been wanting, who made any Scruple of sacrificing their Country to their own private Interest ; who never took the trouble to consider the Consequence of things ; for, indeed, what needed they, having been furnish'd with convenient complying Consciences, that would secure their own private Stake in any Change of Affairs that could happen ?

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Most Countries have had Experience of the evil Consequences, where such Vipers have been nourish'd at the publick Charge, and receiv'd into the Bowels of the Government, where they act but according to their Nature, if they eat through and through. So prevailing was this Corruption grown amongst the *Romans*, that severest Laws were enacted against it; which yet were not so strictly observ'd, but they gave just Occasion for that Remark of *Valerius Max. Utinam more Majorum, nihil eorum quæ Virtuti debentur, emere Pecunia liceret*: But in these Ancestors Days, to which he appeals, their greatest Men had learn'd the hardest Lesson of Virtue; *they could afford to be poor*, as having nothing but the honest Wants of Nature to provide for, who is reasonable in her Demands, and subsists upon a little Cost. Their Successors set up for Gentlemen of another Strain; they contracted so many chargeable Vices to maintain, and converted so many Extravagances into the Necessaries of Life, that the Patrimony of their Ancestors, altho' never so much improv'd, fell too short for their Occasions. Employments of State were sought for, not through Zeal to serve the Publick, but for the Support of their private Riots and Debaucheries.

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SUCH was the Practice among the *Romans*, from whence I shall not presume to draw any Parallel; but rather wish to see a thorough Reformation, in every Parricular, that may be an Occasion of Grievance; that so the Prudence of our Legislators, and the Expences of the *Publick*, may not fail of those Advantages that are expected from them. If any *Englishman* will tell me we have no need of a Regulation in this Matter, he must be a great Stranger to his Country, to give him no worse Character; certainly His Majesty is of another Thought, when he complains in His *Speech* of *Frauds and Abuses* being daily committed in the *publick Revenues*.

ONE way of putting an End to the Struggles of Faction, is so to order Affairs, that the Offices, Employments, and Dignities of the State, may be the Rewards of Merit, and not the Prize of this or that Set of Men, as they chance to get the upper-hand; since the taking away the Matter contended for, is one Step towards quieting Contention: And 'tis in some Degree remov'd, when they only are advanc'd and regarded, who strive to deserve well from the Whole, not they who think it Desert sufficient to have walk'd obsequiously under such and such a Banner. When will *Great Britain* be able to boast, that Honesty and Merit are

are a sufficient Recommendation, when none shall be prefer'd to eat the Bread of the Publick, but its true and faithful Sons, and those, in the first Place, who have deserv'd, in a more particular Manner, by their Zeal and honest Services ? By what Practice of under-hand Instruments, Persons of another Stamp, or less deserving, have been either continu'd or prefer'd, I will not presume to determine ; but I am certain it is not the Intention of His Majesty, to have Places in the Government fill'd by such Men, while many who are Sufferers on its Account, are silent Spectators of their own Disappointment.

THE unhappy Difference between *His Majesty* and *His Royal Highness*, is also none of the least of our present Misfortunes. 'Tis true, Modesty and Respect seem to require a Veil to be drawn over this Affair ; but as nothing causes a more general Uneasiness and Disatisfaction to these Kingdoms, it would be an inexcusable Omission to pass it over in Silence. The universal Grief of Friends, and malicious Joy of Enemies, on this Account, are Circumstances not to be disregarded ; since the latter take occasion from hence to hope we shall never arrive at any tolerable Degree of Union and Settlement, so long as this Rupture in the Royal Family continues. 'Tis impossible not to discern the evil Influence it has on the publick Affairs ;
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and perhaps nothing could have corresponded so exactly with the Wishes of *designing* Men, who make use of this Handle to disturb His Majesty's Measures, and to shelter their *Defection* under a Pretence of professing themselves in the Interests of his Son. But it is a gross Absurdity, and Impudence to boot, for such Persons to suppose His R. H. should ever be so inclin'd to favour their Designs, by encouraging any Thing that may distress the Affairs of the Government: And they are no less ridiculous and inconsistent in pretending any real Affection to him, while they oppose with all their Might that Interest, which must needs be dear to him, since his own particular Stake is bound up with it.

THERE was once some Shadow of Hopes given of a Re-union, which diffus'd an inconceivable Joy amongst People of all Ranks; but that soon vanish'd, and left the Nation to their former Confusion. And now those who would have it so, call the Breach irreparable; nor can others, with any Assurance, reply upon them, to mortify their insolent Boasts. But those Men, whoever they be, by what Titles soever distinguish'd, or under whatsoever Class or Denomination they may rank themselves, who conspire to hinder or retard a Reconciliation, so much desir'd by all honest Men, are certainly neither good Christians, nor true Patriots;

Patriots ; Union in the Royal Family being the best Means to preserve Unanimity in Parliament, and to destroy the Influence of Faction and Party-Spirit every where else.

OUR next Misfortune is, the insufferable Arrogance and Licentiousness of the Pretender's Faction ; their Abuse of the Lenity and Indulgence of a free Government, under which they have the undeserv'd Happiness to live, being now arrived at a higher Pitch than has hitherto been known. 'Tis notorious what Liberty they take to traduce the Government, and throw malicious Slanders and Aspersions on His Majesty, by licentious Libels and Discourses, false Suggestions, unhandsome and dangerous Slurs. They have their particular Agents and Incendiaries constantly employ'd to open all the Avenues they can to Sedition ; who, indeed, are very diligent to serve their Cause ; making it their whole Business to subvert the Government, by fomenting Factions, by being clamorous and turbulent, and free in censuring publick Administration, by putting the worst Interpretation on all the Actions of the King, and his Ministers, by complaining of the Injuries done to the Publick, and practising by such means to draw innocent and unwary People into their Party. And it must be acknowledged with Regret, that their Success

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is answerable in a great measure to their indefatigable Industry ; for whatever they are pleas'd to say or suggest is not only embrac'd by those who have their Ears open to receive, and their Tongues ready and loose to re-echo every thing that is spoken to the Disadvantage of the Administration, but also by other great Numbers of the unthinking and easily deluded Populace, who are thus made impatient of the Ease and Tranquility they enjoy.

THOUGH Liberty is most certainly one of the greatest Blessings Men can possess, yet when I consider how licentious, in many Instances, it has been amongst us ; what extravagant Sallies it has made beyond the Bounds of its own Franchises ; and how injuriously and insolently free it has been with Truth, with Justice and Majesty ; in this extravagant and designing Exercise of it, I dare not call it a Happiness of the Times wherein we live. Indeed, if Men were influenc'd only by Principles of Virtue ; if they embrac'd Truth in the Love of it ; if, free from any Biass of evil Parties, or Self-Interest, they aim'd at promoting Justice and the publick Good, 'twere no Matter how great Freedom they us'd in their Discourse and Writings. Men of such sincere and uncorrupt Affections would frequently be very useful Monitors to our Legislature : And
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'twould be otherwise of great Advantage to the Publick, that they thus us'd a Freedom in representing what they thought amiss. .

BUT when this Liberty is turn'd into Licentiousness by the Partizans of a Faction, whose Harvest is to spring out of the Seeds of Dissension and Sedition, which they sow amongst us, 'tis impossible for Humane Wisdom to say, how far the Underminers of our State may serve their Cause, or what Ruin they may bring upon these Kingdoms, if this Evil is suffer'd to continue. There is no readier way that designing People can take to shake the Pillars of Government, than to destroy the Reverence of it. And therefore, if the Laws in being are not sufficient to repress this Abuse, surely it is fit for the Inspection of Parliament, that some Course may be taken to do it effectually. In the mean time, notwithstanding these Abuses of the Advantages of living in a free Government, the Abettors of Slavery and Arbitrary Sway have no great Reason to triumph in their Maxims. 'Tis true the Corruption of the best Things is the worst. " There is nothing (says " a great Author *) that Men can make worse " use of, than of Light and Liberty, two of " the best and most pleasant Things in the " World. Knowledge is many times abus'd

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* Archbishop Tillotson.

“ to the worst Purpose, and Liberty into Li-
 “ centiousness and Sedition; and yet no Man,
 “ for all that, thinks Ignorance desirable, or
 “ would wish a perpetual Night and Darkeness
 “ to the World; and conclude, from the In-
 “ conveniencies of abus’d Liberty, that the
 “ best State of Things would be, that the Ge-
 “ nerality of Mankind should be all Slaves to
 “ a few, and be perpetually chain’d to the
 “ Oar, or condemn’d to the Mines.

AMONGST the many other Artifices which
 the avow’d Enemies of this Government make
 use of, to give Life to a forlorn and desperate
 Cause, their most insolent Attempt of all is,
 their daring openly and publickly to revive
 those Maxims of Government, which are re-
 pugnant to that establish’d by Law, and which
 consequently tend to destroy his Majesty’s
 just Title. Such a Thing as this is intole-
 rable in any Government, and was never any
 where suffer’d to pass with Impunity; sure I
 am, no honest *Britain* can smother his Resent-
 ment of such an Indignity, as throws his Li-
 berty and Property in the Dirt, and levels him
 with Slaves and Beggars.

THE People of *Great Britain*, who are the
 freest Nation in the World, cannot consider the
 Happiness they possess, in comparison of those
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who live under absolute Monarchies, without having a just Veneration for their noble Ancestors, who have (tho' not without the Expence of their best Blood) secur'd to them those Liberties they now enjoy : And the present Age would strangely degenerate, if they were not as zealous to transmit the same down to their Posterity. But by new trumping up the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*, our Jacobites would fain persuade the World that Kings and Subjects have separate Interests, that Princes are *Self-holders*, as the *Czar of Muscovy* entitles himself; and that Subjects are so much their Property, as that in no Case they may resist them. Where such Maxims are once sow'd, the natural Product must needs be Tyranny : 'Twas those Principles made *James I.* uneasy, involv'd *Charles I.* in his Misfortunes, made *Charles II.* an Exile, and brought *James II.* to Abdication. 'Twas those Principles which receiv'd their mortal Wound by King *William's* Sword at the happy Revolution ; nor will any Person or Party attempt to heal it, under any other Name or Pretext whatsoever, but such as at the same time will contribute their utmost Endeavours (whether they think so or not) to heal the deadly Wound of the Apocalyptical Beast. Tyranny and Idolatry are the two essential Constituents of Antichrist's Empire; and where-ever the former takes place, the latter pretends a Right to

to follow. The Experience of all Ages amounts to a Demonstration, that absolute Power, exalted Prerogative, or call it what you will, is productive of the greatest and most enormous Crimes that Humane Nature is capable of, and always concludes in the oppression of the best of Men. Then, if the Tree must be known by its Fruit, as our Saviour himself hath told us, we may reasonably conclude, that unaccountable Power in any Man on Earth was never planted by Heaven.

IF these Doctrines had any other Advocates or Assertors in this Reign, than such Men only as are notoriously disaffected to his Majesty, it would raise a just Jealousy in well-meaning People, to see them so openly propagated. And there is nothing more pernicious to the Government itself, than to suffer Men to publish such Maxims, as tend to destroy the Rights and Privileges of the People, who are ever quick-sighted enough, to find out the weak Side of such Arguments as tend to their Hurt. It makes them suspicious that some sudden Designs are carrying on against them, and prepares their Minds to receive an ill Impression of the Government: The Laws ought therefore to be pointed with all their Rigour against such as strike at Fundamentals; for which none are more remarkable than some of our *Weekly Libellers*, whose Papers are cal-
culated

culated to poison the Spirits of the whole Nation. And our Legislators are particularly concern'd to suppress this Instance of Licentiousness, because it undermines the Power and Authority of Parliaments, who represent the Nation, and are the Conservators of our Liberties; it lays waste all our Laws after they have made them; and it not only immediately destroys our Representatives, in the Quality of Legislators, but makes them Slaves too, and will not leave them to be so much as *British* Freemen.

THE present Disputes amongst the *Clergy* of the Church of *England*, is another great Disservice to the Government; which have been of late carried to a greater Height, and produc'd more violent Heats and Fermentations in that Body than has been known; nor was it ever heard, that Controversies in Matters of Religion amongst Protestants were begun and maintain'd with such Virulence and personal Defamation, and supported by the most abominable, notorious Perjuries. Their present Dissensions have taken their Rise from the narrow Genius of *Ecclesiastical Bigots*, who, to advance their own Power and Greatness, are ever breaking in upon the Methods and Foundation of the Civil Government, and making the Discipline of the Church interfere with the *State*; from whence have risen, and been continu'd,

tinu'd, those Disturbances, which have so long craz'd and shatter'd, and sometimes even dissolv'd the very Nature and Being of our Government.

IF the *Polemicks* would only wrangle among themselves, and within the Schools; if these Tormentors of Truth would put it upon the Rack no where but in their own Closets, they might be overlook'd as not dangerous; but they transgress their Bounds, by getting into Courts, Cities, and National Assemblies; till at last they kindle others with the Fire that has seiz'd them, and come to engage whole Empires in their Quarrel, and are therefore to be watch'd in all their Motions.

THEY who are possess'd with this unruly Spirit, if they happen to have a Government with 'em, are apt, at every turn, to run it upon fatal Precipices; if it be against 'em, they traduce whatever is well done, and expose to the People all its Weakness or Infirmities. But the sore Place in a State, upon which they stick most, is *Faction*, and there they do the greater Mischief; they irritate the bad Humours in it, they promote its Excesses, and will never let it listen to Terms of Moderation. But is it not strange, that there should be so strong a Party among a Clergy against the Government, that not only protects them,
but

but to which they owe their being an *establiſh'd* Church? Yet at this time 'tis undeniable, that wherever the Clergy are moſt numerous, the Jacobites are moſt numerous too; there are more Jacobites ten for one in every Cathedral Town, than in any other Towns, accounting Number for Number: And how the Universities are generally diſaffected to this Government, is notorious; they reproach and rail againſt the very Biſhops and Clergymen prefer'd in this Reign. In ſhort, thoſe who every Day piously attend the Service and religious Worſhip of the Church, who moſt frequently are Communicants in the Holy Sacrament, theſe they will, notwithſtanding, call *Presbyterians*, *Hypocrites*, *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, &c. and eſteem none ſound Members of their Body; but thoſe who come up to all their higheſt Points of Dominion, Tyranny, and Uncharitableneſs to all thoſe who are not of their Faction; I will not call it their Church, becauſe I think it a Diſhonour to the beſt reform'd Church in the World, to be ſerv'd by ſuch Men, as, under the Title of Proteſtant Priests, are labouring with all their Power the Return of Tyranny and Popery.

I MUST declare myſelf of the Church of *England*; no Man has a greater Veneration than myſelf for its *Articles* and *Homilies*, or for

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many

many of the *Clergymen*, who, I am sure, cannot think themselves concern'd in any thing here. Indeed I always thought the Church to comprehend more than the whole Body of the Churchmen: nor, whatever the learned Bishop *Sanderfon* holds, can I believe that the Bishops, Presbyters, and others, chosen by the Clergy, are so much as the *Church-Representative*, with Power to make Ecclesiastical Laws: I am sure I never gave my Consent to it, nor do I know that God or my Fore-fathers gave them that Authority; much less do I believe with the late Dr. *Sherlock*, that every Bishop has Right to make Laws, Canons and Constitutions in his own Diocese; for I must confess, whatever Pretence Bishops may have to be Successors to the Apostles, I should think that the Lay-Brethren should, at least, be as much interested in Councils now, as they were when the Apostles presided.

ONE of the principal Quarrels of our Steeple and Pinnacle Men to the present Government, is, a seeming Inclination to favour the *Dissenters*, by repealing the Test and Penal Laws in force against them: And, indeed, why may not these, at one and the same time, have their Liberty of Conscience, and yet enjoy all the Privileges and Advantages of other *Englishmen*? Some of our own Clergy themselves,

selves, have unanswerably made it appear, that all humane Interpositions, in Matters of Religion, either by Force, or even *negative Discouragements*, are contrary to the Laws of Christ, which were never intended to interfere with the Constitutions of this World, nor to divest any Man of his natural or civil Rights. Indeed, the unexpected Disappointment of Protestant Dissenters, is a very great Misfortune to the Publick. Is it not probable that they may think they are divided from us, and that it will be necessary for them to have a separate Interest from that of the Publick? May they not believe it imports them to seek for the Aid of Friends, which of course must lead 'em to make Application to, and strike up a League with such Persons as are discontented, tho' formerly no Well-wishers to their Interest? of which there are many, whereof some are angry, because their true Merits are not recompens'd, as well as there are others, who from either a restless Temper, or from Pride, Ambition, or the Disappointment of immoderate Hopes, become disaffected to the State. And may not all this afford plenty of bad Matter for Men to work upon? May it not give Faction fresh Vigour and long Life? And may it not raise new Ferments in the Blood; and bring several acute Humours to float in the Body Politick, which now seem to lie quiet?

THIS Disappointment of so considerable a Body of Men, who were ever in the true Interest of their Country, is one of the unhappy Effects of *Whig-Apostacy*, many who were their stoutest Advocates in the late Reign, now as warmly opposing them; insomuch that their *adhering* Friends are even afraid to move one step in their behalf. When I reflect on this sudden Alteration in the Affections of some People to the Dissenters, whom, as Friends to this Government, they endeavour to separate from its Support; I am apt to think they could not shew such another Instance of manifest Defection, since the Assistance of such Friends is as much wanted by the Government, as its Favour and Protection is merited by them, and since their *modern* Enemies can shew no colourable Pretext for deserting their Interest. But I need not insist on this Point, the Dissenters themselves have appeal'd to the Publick, and sufficiently expos'd the Treachery of Some, and the Lukewarmness of Others.

WE may reasonably think the Wisdom of the Nation has a better Opinion of the Dissenters and their Merits, than their Enemies would persuade us. That they have *Protestant* Principles and *English* Hearts; that they are Lovers of His Majesty, peaceable in their Sphere, and neither ambitious nor designing, their past and present Conduct do both plainly discover.

discover. May it not therefore be expected that this Parliament will relieve them of their Hardships, and knock off their Fetters ; if not out of a Regard to their Advantage, yet, at least, in respect to the Interest of the Government ? If those that ought to assist their Country will not, why should we reject their proffer'd Service that will ? For in proportion, as our Power is decreas'd, our Enemies reap fresh Supplies to theirs ; and what Consequencies in time, this may very probably produce, it is not difficult to conjecture.

THIS brings me to another Consideration, of the great Hopes and Encouragement which Malecontents draw from our Divisions. The *Tories*, who confidently brag of their numerous Party in the Nation, and of their great Countenance from Courts of a contrary Interest, do now set an extraordinary Value on their Power, and even pretend a Necessity for the Administration's courting their Favour, and giving them a Share in it. But we may well imagine the Disease to be desperate, when Recourse is had to such sort of Remedies, till once they shew a fit Disposition for such a Trust. It is no doubt contrary to His Majesty's Inclinations, to confine himself to any one Party of his Subjects ; he has no Quarrel to revenge upon his People ; and has manifested a Disposition to unite all Sides and Interests : But those
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canting Nick-names of *Tory* and *Whig* must first be utterly abolished, before ever any thing of this kind can be expected ; and all other Distinctions should be reduced to this one, (which His Majesty hop'd e'er now to accomplish) viz. * *Such as are zealous Assertors of the Liberties of their Country, the present Establishment, and the Protestant Religion, and such as are endeavouring to subject the Nation to the Revenge and Tyranny of a Popish Pretender.* This being the Discrimination of Parties, an honest Man may as cheerfully and readily acknowledge himself of a *Party*, as St. Paul own'd himself an *Heretick* after the way, which his Enemies call'd *Heresy*. If cunning Men of the opposite Faction be able to carry their Management much farther : If by a crafty use of the Names, *Church*, *Whig* and *Tory*, they can impose on weak Men, and keep them from being of this Party, that is, of the number of those who are for the Interest of *Great-Britain*, and the Protestant Religion, and Haters of Popery and Arbitrary Power, we may thus be insensibly drawn into the Snares laid for us, and bring upon ourselves all the Calamities we are afraid of.

SOME People are of Opinion, that a Place would buy any Party out of their Principles, and

* See the King's Speech to the Parliament in Jan. 1715-16.

and that all who are brought into the Government would be oblig'd by that means to be for the Government; that the greatest Provocation to the Tories is their being excluded from a Share in the Ministry; and that therefore their Reconciliation should be purchas'd by taking them in. They think others ought to be contented to share the Favours of the Government, without ingrossing them: And that when a Nation is unhappily divided into Parties, whose Numbers are pretty equal, and their Interests diametrically opposite, it is then the greatest Kindness to each, as well as the Concern of the Whole, that neither side should be put into the Power of the other, but that Matters should be manag'd by ballanc'd Councils, as Foreigners are try'd *per Medietatem Linguae*.

INDEED, it must be confess'd, that a great and wise Prince (if the Circumstance of Things will possibly admit of a perfect Neutrality in Him) is to incline nor to one nor to the other side: And even when Necessity compels the Sovereign to declare himself, which becomes unavoidable where Factions have been of long Continuance, and are grown so powerful as to shake the Throne by their mutual Fury: In such a Juncture, a Prince leaning that way where he thinks his own Dignity safest, and the

the publick Welfare most consulted, is to do it with that Moderation, Mercy and Compassion, that there may be Room left for Repentance ; that the Arms of the Commonwealth may remain still open for those who desire to return with righter Inclinations to her Service.

AND I must needs think it no undue Censure to say, that no Man who understands the Constitution of this Monarchy can be against the present Government out of Principle. For whoever questions the Right of it, either has not us'd due Means of informing himself how fully the Settlement was warranted by the Constitution, or has that Want of Judgment which makes him dependent upon the Judgment of others ; and the Practice of them who give Rules to the unthinking Vulgar, has been so inconsistent with itself, as well as with their profess'd Principles, that they must be ashamed of pretending to any thing but Obstinacy. But yet nevertheless, since that which brings such Men into the Service of the Government, is *their own Interest*, and not that of the Government ; it will be reasonable to expect, that the whole Design of such Men will be rather how to serve themselves of the Government, than how to serve it.

NEVER.

NEVERTHELESS, I am not for refusing any *Tory that gives Proof of his sincere Repentance*, and of a Love to his Country, but, with all my Heart, would give my Share of the *fatted Calf*, to make the *returning Prodigal* welcome. A true Patriot can be of no Faction, nor consequently for excluding any from sharing the Blessings of that Liberty they are willing to support. If the *Romans* admitted their *vanquish'd Enemies* to an equal Participation of their Laws and Privileges, how much more readily should we embrace our own *Countrymen* with both Arms? Yet I cannot but think it reasonable, that they should submissively seek the Government, and not the Government submissively seek them; that they should give Security of another Course of Life for the future, and not justify their Faults and persevere in them. The Government is under no Obligation to indulge Men continuing in Opposition to it; nor should those who are resolv'd upon adhering to a Popish Pretender, think to abuse a Prince of His Majesty's Penetration.

So far at present, we have taken a View of our Situation at Home; what farther remains to be consider'd on this Head, will come in more properly in another Place.

Now to the great Point, and our most pressing Danger, *viz. Our Difference with Spain.*

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This is a Subject of such Importance and universal Concern, that it deservedly exercises the Tongues and Thoughts of all Men of Sense. Our proper Business is to consider what we have to do in this great Conjunction, how prepar'd to *secure ourselves, defend our Trade, and assist our Allies.*

CERTAINLY, 'tis high Time to think of making the Ministers of *Spain* better *Christians*, when 'tis apparent they have taken up the Principle of the common Enemy of Christendom. Absolute Power at Home, and universal Empire Abroad, is their Aim as well as the *Turks*, and seeing that by their Actions all the Duties of Christianity are laid in the Dirt, it were hard to determine, under which of the Two Christendom would obtain fairest Quarter after an absolute Conquest: *For tho' Spain be the Owner of the better Faith, yet the Other keep Faith better; because all Travellers tells us, the Turk counts it Religion to keep Word and Promise.*

It was never a Question amongst *honest Men*, whether his Catholick Majesty has not broke through solemn Treaties in the Execution of his destructive Designs against the short Tranquility of *Europe*, after a bloody War that lasted ten Years, and laid waste whole Countries for his sake. And I hope the Opinion of the Wisdom of the Nation in this Matter will

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now open the Eyes of some People here, that pretended *not to see*.

THE Trade of *Great Britain* has already felt the ill Effects of his Hostilities, is now in a manner at a stand, and must of Course be ruin'd in the several Branches of it, if we do not speedily take the same Methods to maintain it. 1. That with *Spain* itself, both as to Import and Export : This is known to be one of the most considerable Branches of our Trade, and therefore deserves our immediate Care. 2. That to the *Mediterranean* and *Levant* in general : This is effected by denying us the Road and Harbour of *Cadix* ; and posting a Squadron of Men of War there to keep us out. 3. That to the *South-Seas*, in Virtue of the *Affiento* Contract, which of late Years has suffer'd so many Violations, and is now entirely destroy'd. And lastly, (to name no more at present) our Trade to the *American* Plantations : The Consequence of that Commerce, and the vast Advantage that accrues thence to the *British* Nation, is so well known, that the sole mention of its being in Danger ought to awaken our most serious Thoughts, and put us upon the most vigorous Efforts to prevent it. Let me add to all this, that several of our Merchants are already ruin'd, who had great Effects in *Spain*, and this is a common Loss to the Nation.

THIS is a great Part of our immediate Danger: But the Matter does not stop here; and We may assure ourselves, that the *Spaniards* have other fatal Designs in View against *Great Britain*. That King *Philip* will attempt to impose the Pretender upon us will be easily agreed to, if we consider, that nothing can be so agreeable to his Interest, his Resentment, and his blind Zeal for Popery. It were not unseasonable to call to Mind King *Philip's* Return to the Pretender's Compliment, when he congratulated his Accession to the Crown of *Spain*, viz. *That he hop'd e'er long to have an Opportunity to congratulate him upon the like Occasion; and told him, That in that Case he might depend upon his Friendship and Assistance.* Though this Answer was put into the Mouth of the Youngster, it was justly look'd upon by some then to be a Prognostick of something to come. We have heard what are the Sentiments of our Jacobites beyond Seas on the present Occasion: And no Man can be so much a Stranger to the Conversation of that Party in *Great Britain*, as not to know that how Crest-fallen ever they appear'd before, this gives their Looks a new Air, and fills them with fresh Hopes, which swell them so big that they cannot contain themselves. They express their Confidence with so much *Imprudence* (to give it no worse Name) on all Occasions, that no
other

other Government but this would suffer them to pass unpunish'd.

THE Case being thus, it must certainly be the Interest of *Great Britain* to put itself in a Condition to give Laws, rather than take them. His Majesty's Wisdom has been conspicuous in having join'd in Alliance with some of the chief Powers of *Europe*, rather than leave every one to save their own Stake ; which is one way to lose all. We seem to be so much the more oblig'd to such an Alliance and Measures, that we should for ever lose the Honour of being Arbitrators in the Affairs of *Europe*, or Guarantees of Leagues, if we suffer'd a manifest Breach of Treaties, in which we are concern'd, to pass unregarded. We are oblig'd to use our utmost Endeavours to have Justice done to our Honour in this Matter, (which the Treachery of the Ministry in the late Reign made to be too justly suspected) or we must give it up as eternally lost, and become the Reproach and Scorn of the Universe. This I thought a necessary Reflection in order to stop the Clamours of a Party, who have been too free with His Majesty's Conduct in this Affair ; with which however He has the Pleasure to find his Parliament entirely satisfy'd ; who have also promis'd to enable His Majesty to resent the Treatment offer'd to Him and His Subjects, as becomes us. And the World must
justify

justify His Majesty, if after all *the repeated Offers of Friendship*, and other Means us'd in vain, He shall find himself, in Prudence, concern'd to take a Course by *War*, in concert with His Allies, in order to oblige his Catholick Majesty to do Reason to Us and Them. The *Spaniards* have taken for their Motto, *Jus est in Armis*, *No Law but the Law of Arms* : Therefore by Arms alone the Quarrel is to be decided.

THE first thing then we are to consider is, how a War must be manag'd, so as to be carry'd on with a Probability of a speedy Success. In order to this, 'twould seem necessary in the first Place, that the Commands of our Fleets and Armies should be put into the Hands of such Men as are known to be entirely in the Interest of the Government ; not meerly because of the profitable Posts that they enjoy under it, but because of the Principles upon which 'tis founded. 2. That they be such as have an Interest in the Nation, and in the Affections of the People : This will in a great measure secure them from those Suspensions, that Men of low or desperate Fortunes will always be liable to. 3. That the Soldiers and Seamen be duly paid, and kindly treated. This will make their Families and Relations easy at Home, and encourage them to venture their Lives with Chearfulness Abroad. The People will bear their Taxes without Grumbling, when

when they find the Money levied for their Defence, faithfully apply'd to that and no other End: It will prevent the Clamours that have been usually rais'd and publish'd against most of our publick Officers, and take away that Handle, which ill Men have sometimes improv'd to a very dangerous Height against the Administration. 4. That all those who are entrusted as Lords of the Admiralty, Commissioners of the Navy, Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded, Commissioners of the Victualing-Office, Prize-Office, &c. be Persons of known and sufficient Abilities for the Discharge of their respective Trusts; that they be Men of undoubted Loyalty to the Government, and firm to the Interest of their Country; such as have been more remarkable for their Sufferings, or Opposition to the ill Administration of the late Reign, than for their fawning upon the Government in this. That such as are advanc'd to these important Posts take care to employ none in the subordinate Charges under them, but Men of Integrity, that will not oppress or defraud those that have occasion to apply to them; and that the chief Commissioners make due Enquiry from time to time into the Administration of their inferiour Officers; that they may neither defraud the Publick themselves, or countenance it in others, as has been too frequently and too justly complain'd of hitherto.

to. In order to this, it will be highly necessary, that the chief Commissioners of these respective Offices be ready to encourage and protect all such as shall discover any Fraud and Oppression that properly belongs to their Cognizance : And that as they are not to suffer their subordinate Officers to be vex'd by frivolous or unjust Accusations on the one Hand, they should take care that Prosecutors and Witnesses be not baffl'd, oppress'd and discourag'd on the other. Proceedings of this Nature have been complain'd of in the Case of several People, that were formerly ruin'd for discovering Embezzlements in His Majesty's Naval Stores, &c. And if the like Practices be still continued, it must of Necessity be ruinous to the Nation. 'Twas one of the greatest Temporal Blessings that ever God Almighty promis'd to his People, *To make their Officers Peace, and their Exactors Righteousness.* And when he leaves a Nation so far to themselves, as to suffer the contrary Practice, 'tis an infallible Sign of approaching Destruction.

So much for the Employment and Treatment of the Men that must be employ'd in and about the Management of a War; of which, after all that can be said, they are the chief and principal Sinew.

THE next thing to be consider'd, is the Management of the publick Money, which is the

the other great Sinew of War: In a mixt Government like ours, where the People have the sole Power of the Purse, 'twould seem to thwart the very nature of our Constitution, to exclude them from a Share in the Management of it; and therefore his Majesty hath always readily agreed to their appointing Commissioners to inspect the publick Accounts.

'TWOULD be meritorious for Men of Honour and Estate to serve the Nation in publick Employments, on pressing Occasions, either for no Salary at all, or, at least, for no more than would just bear their Expences. The Frugality of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, in their Allowances for publick Service, is one of their best Preservatives against Corruption and Bribery. Their Salaries are not enough for Men of covetous Tempers to court their State Employments, by which means they are generally confer'd upon Men of Virtue, Merit, and Substance, who serve their Country for Honour, and are not easily bought off from its Interests. It was a just Observation of a *Spanish* Minister, at their first Revolt, that they would ruin his Master by their Frugality; and since the Event hath verify'd the Prophecy, their Example, in this Matter, is well worth our Imitation. There can be no better way for us to vindicate ourselves from that Reproach, which some foreign Authors take the Liberty

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to charge us with. What *Englishman* can (without having all the Blood in his Veins ready to boil over) read what *John de Wit* says of *English Courtiers*, in his Book of the *Fundamental Maxims and Politicks of Holland*, viz. *That they are the most lavish and thievish of any Courtiers in the World*. And speaking of King *Charles II*, he says, *That he consum'd all the Strength of the Island upon his Luxury and Favourites*. What he means by our Courtiers being Thievish, is, *That during a War by Sea or Land, they do so misapply and waste the publick Money, that it always falls short*. As there's no *Englishman* that can read this unworthy Reflection, without being sensibly touch'd, 'tis certainly the Duty of our *English Courtiers* to behave themselves so as to falsify it.

It is likewise highly necessary, for bringing a War to a good and speedy Issue, that our Councils and Administration be steady, that the Interests of all *Parties* should truckle to that of the Nation. For 'tis in vain to think of securing our Religion, Civil Liberties, Trade, Foreign Plantations, and our Dominion of the Seas, by the Terror of our Arms, unless some Remedies can be thought on, that may cure our intestine Mischiefs. Alliances may be made, with all the Foresight, Prudence, and Circumspection imaginable; Leagues may be

be form'd, such as may tend to resent the Injuries done to ourselves, assist His Imperial Majesty, and preserve the Ballance of *Europe*; Fleets may be fitted out, and even Armies may be rais'd; but all our Designs and Councils must be at last defeated, we shall consume ourselves to little or no purpose, and we shall never truly exert our Strength, nor with full effect, unless all good Patriots interpose with their utmost Endeavours, to put an End to the Divisions among us. As 'tis much a nobler Game to be Umpire Abroad, in a Case which is like to engage the Arms of all Christendom, than to determine at Home in the low Struggles between contending Parties; It might be expected, that Regard to the Fame and Glory of His Majesty, who so well merits the Love of all his Subjects, should induce the different Sides to unite, that His Majesty may be the stronger by this Concord; and bring all the best Patriots and wise Men to look forwards, forget the past, and to approve of Measures leading to Moderation.

THE next thing requir'd in this busy Conjunction, and without which, all other Methods would be useless and ineffectual, is the *Unanimity, Vigour and Dispatch* of our *Representatives in Parliament*. They have already given hopeful Indications hereof, and *frustrated the*

vain Expectations of the Spaniard; whose ungenerous Conduct, in libelling and traducing the Ministry of *Great Britain* to the whole World, was chiefly intended to raise a Jealousy of the Proceedings of our Court, in the Minds of honest and well-meaning Men, and to beget in the People a Diffidence of His Majesty, whose great Wisdom makes him as incapable of mistaking his own and their Interest, as his high Spirit makes it impossible that he should ever give into any Measures that might lessen that glorious Character he is so justly in the Possession of.

THE Fortune of *Great Britain* is now brought to the nicest Point, and there are critical Seasons, which, if neglected, will never again be offer'd. *It remains with this Parliament to give the last Finishing to the great Work which His Majesty has begun*: And it is not to be imagin'd what Security, what Happiness, and what immortal Reputation will be the never ceasing Concomitants of such a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midst of Domestick Discontents, and beset on all Sides with foreign Assaults and Invasions, was able to maintain the Publick Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulsions at Home, and violent Concussions from Abroad; if that small and broken Number, without any Head,
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and under so many Disadvantages, could, by means of their *Unanimity* and *Resolution*, secure their Country's Peace, and so widely extend the Repute and Honour of the *English* Name; What Country or what Region can ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a full and legal Parliament so nobly qualify'd? What Nation can there be so powerful as to resist our Forces, or so politick as to infatuate our Councils? There is nothing within the compass of humane Wishes that we may not assure ourselves from the Wisdom and Virtue of such an Assembly, headed and encourag'd by the most auspicious Prince that ever yet sway'd the Scepter of these Kingdoms: A Prince, who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingness to be happy, and is fir'd with a long-ing Eagerness to see the Nation deserve the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhausted Beneficence.

NOR will the good Effects of this, at present, be confin'd within the narrow Limits of this single Island; its Influences must spread universally over Christendom. They will revive the Courage of the *Austrian* Party in *Italy*, and make their Endeavours to prevent the *Spanish* Yoke successful. This will soon extinguish, or make of little Use to the *Spaniards*, all the Differences in the *Empire*. 'Twill entirely

tirely discourage *Philip's* Faction in *France*; and lastly, the same will have a quick and immediate Effect upon the Councils and Proceedings of the *Dutch*; who, when they find *Great Britain* in good earnest, will be themselves oblig'd to come into the Alliance.

WHAT we are next to consider, is the Way of managing the War. It falls naturally to our Share to act our Part by Sea, for which Reason we find His Majesty resolves to rely entirely on His Naval Strength, having very lately made a considerable Reduction of the Land Forces. As this will be least chargeable to the Nation, so by this means, we are like to do the Enemy most Damage, both in *Europe* and *America*, and to receive most Advantage to ourselves.

To begin with *Europe*: *First*; We may attack the Coasts of *Spain* from the Channel, and quickly force the *Spaniards* to abandon their Maritime Towns and Provinces, to be plunder'd by us at Discretion, especially, considering that our Allies will give their Forces considerable Diversion elsewhere. *Secondly*, Our Fleet may attack them in the *Mediterranean*, and ride Admiral in those Seas, by which we secure ourselves of Provisions in that Country, cut off the *Turkey* and *Barbary* Trade, protect our own
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Commerce to those Countries; and, in a little time, bring the *Spaniards* to submit to such Conditions, as We and our Allies shall propose to them.

IN the next Place, our acting vigorously in the *West-Indies*, affords us a Prospect of most Advantage to ourselves; and also gives us an Opportunity of annoying the Enemy in the most sensible Part. By preventing his having the *West-Inda* Bullion and Mines, we cut off the Sinews of his War, and shall quickly oblige him to drop his Sword. That we may easily do this, can scarcely be deny'd; we have strong Colonies in the *West-Indies* already, and with what we send in our Ships from *Great Britain*, may soon have Men enough for our Northern and Southern Plantations, to make ourselves Masters of such Posts in the *Spanish West-Indies*, as will secure us in the Command of that Country. By this means we shall be freed from our Dependance upon the *Spaniards*, as to our Trade for Slaves and Bullion; and, by Consequence, enabled to carry on our *East-India* Trade, without exporting our own Coin. Whoever knows the Weakness of the *Spaniards* in those Parts, and remembers that *Pointi*, with a Handful of Men, took *Carthagena*, a well fortify'd Town, and which had five times the Number of Men to defend it, that he had on Board

Board his Ships, cannot deny but there is a pleasant Harvest for whoever can send a good Fleet to gather it. If we take care to have a Force in those Seas, superior to the *Spaniards*, our Plantations are so conveniently situated, that not a Galeon, coming or going, can escape us ; and how much such an interruption of all Commerce thither would distress *Spain*, is apparent.

FARTHER, we may be able to force all the *Spanish* Continent and Islands to consent to a Neutrality, and to allow us a free Trade with them during the War, whereby we shall probably be greater Gainers, than by the Plunder of their Country, if we make War upon it : It would certainly prove more beneficial to the trading Interest and Manufactures of *Great Britain* ; since we shall by this means have a prodigious Vent for all the Manufactures of our own Growth, as well as for our *East-India* Commodities and Linnen, &c. We may thus also, during the War, give a beginning to such a Commerce directly from our Plantations to the *Spanish* Continent, as may be continu'd after a Peace, to the unspeakable Benefit of *Great Britain*.

THIS Notion of a Neutrality may displease the Buckaneers, and, perhaps, our Sea-Com-

Commanders, who would find their Account better by plundering of that rich Country. And it may, perhaps, be thought ridiculous, to suppose that the Government of those Provinces, who will have strict Orders to do all they can to extirpate us, can ever be brought to consent to it. But to that I answer, that if we have a Power sufficient to burn and destroy their Country, 'tis much more probable that the present Terror of our Arms will prevail with that wealthy, but defenceless People, than the Orders they shall receive from the Government of *Spain*; and that they will much more willingly part with their Gold and Silver, in return for our Commodities, than expose themselves to be plunder'd of their Riches, and their Maritime Provinces, to utter Destruction.

It can't be doubted, but all this may be effected, since the *Spaniards* are by no means a Match for us at Sea. Or even in case their Naval Force should be hereafter increas'd, by new Alliances with some other Maritime Powers, there is all the Reason in the World to think that ours will be increas'd in a much greater Proportion, by the Accession of the States of *Holland* to the Quadruple Alliance; who, as they can stand no longer Neuters, in such a Case, will find it their indispensable Interest

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terest to join with *Great Britain*. The mischievous Consequences of our Differences with that State were formerly represented by two Pitchers swimming together, with this Motto, *Si collidimur, frangimur*; *If we be dash'd together, we are broke*. And 'tis as much their Interest now, as ever, to keep a good Understanding, and to avoid all Divisions with us.

To conclude this Point with an Observation or two. I remember to have heard, that General *Blake*, in the Time of the Usurper, being sent to Sea with a limited Commission, he either could or would do nothing against the Enemy; but afterwards, when he had a discretionary Commission, he acted Wonders. Answerable to this, I find it to be one of *John de Wit's* and *Van Aitzma's* Observations; That during the War betwixt the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, the Men of War that acted by the Stadtholders Commission, did neither annoy the Enemy, nor protect their own Trade to any Purpose; but the Ships fitted out by the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and other private Hands, did both of them effectually, because they were under no such Limitations as those belonging to the States. It may therefore deserve our Consideration, whether it were not fit to give our Admirals a more ample and unlimited Power: And likewise to encourage our Merchants, and
others,

others, to fit out Men of War, as the *Dutch* Merchants did, to protect their Trade, and to act against the Enemy as Occasion offers.

I AM aware that the main Objection against all that is here touched on remains yet to be spoken to, which is, in short, a Want of Money, and that nothing can act beyond its Power: I allow the Maxim is true, but I hope the Application is wrong in the present Case. To be engag'd in a War, and not to feel it, is a vain Imagination; but if the War we enter into be unavoidable, and Money is the Sinews of it, there is no doubt but it must be had, if it can be found. By our way of living, and by the Course of our Trade, one would not think that we are so far exhausted, as some People seem to complain; we have yet wherewithal for Superfluities; no Price deters us from gratifying our Vanity and Luxury; and while that lasts, all Close-handedness in a common Concern will look more like a grudging of the Publick, than any real Necessity. I don't say, but some Branches may be as far charg'd as they will reasonably bear; but are there not others that have not yet been try'd? We see the Industry of our Enemies, and of our Friends too, who leave no Stone unturn'd, but daily set on Foot new Projects and Proposals to provide for their

growing Occasions : If we can't invent, I wish we could imitate. The Abuse of these things lies only in the Continuance of them beyond the Necessity that first enforces them, which no Constitution of Government can so well remedy as we.

OUR Annual Income by Trade is calculated by some to be about two Millions ; but supposing it less, one half of that Money, well dispos'd of, may go a great way to bring the War to a speedy and happy Conclusion. A far less Sum will equip our Fleet ; and if that were once done, a strong Squadron sent to the *West-Indies*, under true *British* Commanders, will, in all Probability, soon repay us. The most speedy and effectual Method to reduce our Enemies is (as I before hinted) to stop the Fountain of their Money, and obstruct their Commerce. We are better able to do this than they are to oppose us : And were this once effected, King *Philip* must soon be oblig'd to content himself with what former Treaties had given him, and glad if he can escape so. It seems to be demonstrable, that a Naval War is the likeliest Method to humble this aspiring Monarch : And as it is so, it is a sort of War that we can best manage with the least Expence and Danger to ourselves. Our Naval
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Force consumes our own Commodities, and the Money rais'd for maintaining it circulates among ourselves. From all this, I infer, that the Surmises of such Persons as suggest the Impossibility of our being able to bear a new War, ought not to be listened to. Let us be so wise as to make use of their Assistance in any thing that may better or farther secure our Constitution, whatever Principle it proceeds from, or to whatever End it is directed ; but we must beware of being engag'd by them in any thing that may throw us into unseasonable Heats, or retard our necessary Preparations in the present Conjunction.

THE great Losses of our Merchants, whose Effects are seiz'd in *Spain*, is also made a very popular Complaint against the late Proceedings of the Government. To which it may be answer'd, That nothing of that kind can be attempted without Loss to particular Persons, and the whole Community of a Kingdom ; but the general Good must in all Cases have the Preference. The Wisdom of the Nation may be apply'd to in this Matter, to grant the Merchants a Compensation for their Losses, by a Share of what may be taken from the Enemy hereafter in the *West-Indies*, or at Sea, or by such other Methods as they may judge best. In the mean time, we have no Reason
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to doubt, but all our generous Traders will be heartily willing to bear some Loss, provided that by a brisk Management of an actual War, our Trade may be deliver'd from such Dangers in time to come, and establish'd upon a better Footing.

IN order to make all these Projects effectual, Expedition and Dispatch are principally requisite. We have no Reason to despair of Success in disappointing the ambitious Designs of his Catholick Majesty, if we speedily and cheerfully set about it. As it is certain he has a great Force and Treasure at his Command, it is as certain that the Emperor, *Great Britain*, and *France*, are Masters of a much greater Force and Treasure. Then, humanly speaking, there's nothing can defeat us, but Disunion amongst ourselves, which indeed may too likely occasion Want of Courage, Wisdom, and Honesty. But 'tis to be hop'd that Dangers threatening from Abroad will engage all true Patriots to interpose with their utmost Endeavours to unite the Minds of Men at Home. *Externus Timor magnum Concordiæ vinculum.*

SINCE the Writing of what's above, the House of Commons have resolved, *That a Supply be granted to His Majesty.* Certainly all wise and well intention'd Persons must behold their
vigorous

vigorous Proceedings with extreme Pleasure and Satisfaction. When the Subjects observe a great Care in their Sovereign to manage what they give and pay, it makes 'em contribute cheerfully to the Supplies that are needful to the Government. And it will be readily own'd, that never any Prince was a better Steward of the Publick Money, than his present Majesty, who always lets his People see, that what's given has been appropriated to the Purposes for which it was intended ; and that he is never for keeping up any unnecessary Charge upon them ; witness the late considerable Reduction of the Land Forces, for which the Commons are so thankful in their Address.

To conclude : The Nation is happy in having a King whom they can trust, not only because his Interest is the same with theirs, but because all the Actions of his Life have demonstrated, that no Consideration of his own could ever divert him from acting what was best for the Cause he was engag'd in ; and who is as famous for being just and true to his Word, as his Enemies are infamous for breaking their most solemn Leagues. In a word, He is a Prince that has the Virtue, the Fidelity, the Integrity of *Cato* ; as well as the Bravery, the Courage, and Conduct of *Caesar*. Never did the Happiness of the best part of Mankind depend more
upon

upon a single Life than now. Nations differing in Religion, and all Things else, do unanimously agree in acknowledging Him to be the Head, the Heart, the Hand of the Confederacy. To be the Preserver of *Europe*, is a much more glorious Title, than to be Conqueror of it. And there can be no Advantage, but what this Nation in particular may justly expect from a King so zealous to promote their Good, and so able to perform what He undertakes.

F I N I S.



